DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 124 666 UD 016 116

AUTHOR Exum, William H.
TITLE Black Student Unions, 1965-1975: A Retrospective Look at the Last Decade.
PUB DATE Mar 76
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society (March 26-28, 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Black Power; *Change Agents; College Students; Educational Change; *Failure Factors; Higher Education; *Negro Organizations; Negro Role; *Negro Students; Negro Youth; Objectives; Recreational Facilities; Social Action; Social Organizations; *Student Unions; Success Factors; Trend Analysis

ABSTRACT

The significance of the black student union in the past decade (1965-1975), both for black students and for the white college, and some reasons for the apparent decline experienced by black student unions in recent years are the concern of this paper. Its focus is on reviewing some of the functions, activities and impacts of the black student union during its most active years, and reviewing some of the internal factors which seem to have played a role in its current decline. Several functions served by the student unions are suggested. Their goals and change oriented activities center on five general areas and their implementation and impact upon white college vary, both in degree and permanence. Two sets of influences seem important in the apparent decline of black student union and the black student population and those internal to them; four such internal factors are emphasized in the discussion. A final cautionary note is sounded, indicating that despite apparent decline and a seemingly apolitical stance in many colleges and universities, black student unions have not disappeared, and retain the capacity for renewed vitality and activism. (Author/AE)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED124666

BLACK STUDENT UNIONS, 1965-1975: A RETROSPECTIVE LOOK AT THE LAST DECADE

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

William H. Exum

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

William H. Exum ©

Williams College

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, March 26-28, 1976

UD 016116

Black Student Unions, 1965-75

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the black student union in white colleges and universities during the past decade. The career of black student unions in this period is discussed in terms of two broad issues.

First, what have been the principal functions, activities and goals of black student unions, and what has been their impact in terms of changes within colleges and universities? Several functions served by these student organizations are suggested. The goals and change-oriented activities of black student unions, it is argued here, have centered on five general areas. Implementation of these goals and the impact of black student union activities in the white college and university have been variable, both in degree and permanence. Reasons for this variability are indicated.

Second, what factors have been involved in the apparent decline of black student unions in recent years? Two sets of influences seem important in this regard, those external to the black student union and the black student population, and those which are internal to the union and to black students. Such internal factors are stressed in this paper, with emphasis given to four: the character of the black student union as a particular kind of social movement organization; heterogeneity and internal divisions within the black student population on any campus; internal dynamics within black student unions; and student "battle fatigue."

A final cautionary note is sounded, indicating that despite apparent decline and a seemingly apolitical stance in many colleges and universities, black student unions have not disappeared, and retain the capacity for renewed vitality and activism.

One of the most common current features of predominantly white colleges and universities is the presence of some black student organization, significantly different from the more traditional fraternity or student government types. Though called by a variety of names, they all share certain traits: exclusively black in membership, monolithic in appearance, highly self-conscious and apparently motivated primarily by sociopolitical concerns.

However, despite their near-universality, black student unions are of recent origin. Among the first such organizations were: the black student union at Columbia (formed in 1963); the Harvard African and Afro-American Society (also formed in 1963); the Cornell Afro-American Society (formed in 1965); and the Black Student Union at San Francisco State (formed in 1966 out of a previously existing group, the Negro Students Association).[1]

Thus it has been roughly ten years or so since black student unions appeared as a national campus phenomenon. Beginning in 1965-66, they spread rapidly to campuses of all types.[2] By the late 1960s, black student unions, and the movement they embodied, had become central features of the period, while their actions have been a principal element in change-oriented efforts on campus during the past decade.

A number of factors in combination may be seen as influential in the development of the black student union. Though too numerous to discuss here, they include: the creation of a "critical mass" of black students in the white college; their particular traits, especially

political beliefs; black students' experience of disjuncture, alienation and inauthenticity in the white institution; and off-campus developments in the larger black community.[3]

However, our concern in this paper is with indicating some of the significance of the black student union in the past (both for black students and for the white college), and some reasons for the apparent decline experienced by black student unions in recent years. Hence, the focus here is on reviewing some of the functions, activities and impacts of the black student union during its most active years, and reviewing some of the internal factors which seem to have played a role in its current decline.

Functions, Activities and Impacts of the Black Student Union

As several observers have indicated, black student experiences of the white college or university are likely to be stressful and alienating for many students.[4] The union may have served (and may continue to do so) in several ways to mitigate the strain of being in the white setting, as well as to meet other black student needs. First, it may perform many of the functions of the peer group. It may provide a place and a group which is not white, and therefore one in which relaxation, security and "escape" from the pressures of the university are ostensibly possible.

Further, the organization may help in the individual adjustment of black students to the college. It may be a source and sponsor of alternate educational experiences to those offered elsewhere on campus. Not only does the union provide a variety of social, cultural and recreational events, it also often provides a forum, formal or informal, for discussion of social and political issues. In its role as forum,

the union frequently has provided a kind of collective reinforcement and legitimation for beliefs and behavior, especially those critical of white society in general and the white college in particular.

At the same time, the union often has also attempted to play a "coercive" or controlling role (consciously or not) in the realm of beliefs and behavior, rewarding the expression of certain views and actions, and negatively sanctioning others. This insistence on ideological and behavioral conformity can be, and often has been, a major force for disunity, a point to which we shall return shortly.

In addition, the union may be important in black students' sense of collective competence and ability to achieve their objectives as a a group. By its very existence it can be (and often has been in the past) a tangible symbol of ideological beliefs about black unity and solidarity. Further, the union may provide a continuing sense of corporateness. This is important in maintaining a sense of efficacy in confronting and managing the social and political world of the college or university.

Finally, the union has been, and remains, the vehicle through which discontent with the college is expressed and student efforts at producing change in the institution are generally channeled. In short, the black student organization has been the vehicle for protest and the heart of the black student movement since 1965.

The goals and demands put forth by black student unions, despite differences in language and detail, have stressed several aims: 1) increasing the number of blacks in the college or university at all levels, from student to top administrator; 2) curricular changes and additions; 3) achieving some kind of black control in the above, and

in the affairs of the institution; 4) increasing college sensitivity and service to the local off-campus black community (if any); and 5) eliminating institutional racism within the university or college insofar as this is possible.

The success of black student unions in achieving these aims has varied widely from campus to campus. In almost all cases there has been increased recruitment and admission of black students.[5] However, this increase seems to have been much more ambiguously maintained in the 1970's, with evidence for both continued increase and for significant decrease in black enrollment.[6]

Black student efforts, in conjunction with Federal Affirmative Action requirements, have resulted in more black faculty and administrators in white colleges and universities. However, attacks on Affirmative Action from many quarters combined with an apparent waning of governmental vigor in implementing equal rights efforts of all kinds raise the possibility that these hiring gains may not be increased or even maintained in coming years.

Nationally, black students seem to have been rather successful in getting at least some changes and additions to curricula. By the end of the 1970-71 school year, 62% of all American colleges and universities offered some kind of program of black, Third World, or ethnic studies (Bayer and Astin, 1971). By the end of the 1971-72 school year, half of all colleges and universities offered at least one black studies course (Allen, 1974), and one hundred eighty-two offered degrees in black studies (Obatala, 1974). However, students failed to achieve black studies programs on some campuses (Exum, 1974); some programs have folded, and despite the vitality of some (Wilkins, 1975), many others are in serious difficulty. Once again, the question of the

permanent institutionalization in the white college of gains and changes achieved by black student efforts must be raised.

In many colleges and universities black students sought to gain some kind of black (often student) voice in the affairs of the institution. Though such efforts represented a rather direct challenge to the status quo in the college, as long as the role black students sought to play was an initiating and consulting/advisory one, by and large colleges have had relatively little difficulty in taking steps to meet or respond to these interests. (This is not to say, of course, that colleges did not often resist initially such aims of black students.)

However, where black students were not content with a merely advisory role in new programs and in institutional affairs and sought either total black control or a significant voice in control in such programs, etc., they met with very little success. Indeed, in those few instances where such power was conceded to black students (e.g. all-black dormitories, or participation in hiring and promotion decisions), such gains have been very short-lived.

Increase in the service and sensitivity of the white college or university to the local off-campus black community has been a frequent goal of black students.[7] In Vincent Harding's words (1969: 142), "at its best the black student organization became a means of developing strategies of service to the local black community." However, as with other black student efforts during the peak period of activism in white colleges, the college-initiated responses and changes in relations between the college and local black communities have been more limited, less permanent and often different than students intended.

Finally, a major goal of black student unions in the late 1960s

was the elimination, or at least significant reduction, of institutional racism within the white college or university. As with other black student efforts, the accomplishments in this regard are ambiguous and problematic. On the one hand, perhaps some ground has been gained. There are more black students, faculty and administrators than at the start of the decade, curricular changes and new programs have been instituted, and many of the more overt racist and discriminatory practices on campus have been reduced. At the same time, racism, institutional and personal, is still an important fact of life on campus. Certainly black students continue to perceive and experience the white college or university in these terms (Boyd, 1974; Walters, 1974; Yankelovich, 1972).

To conclude: ten years of shifting effort and activity by black student unions have produced real, though variable success in student admissions, faculty and staff recruitment, and curricular and programmatic changes. Community outreach goals were more limitedly and less successfully fulfilled, while institutional racism remains a significant, if less, visible, reality on campus. In important respects, black student unions through their activist efforts have played a major part in developments in white colleges over the last decade, despite the fact that many of the fundamental structures and processes of these schools remain largely unchanged.

In the last few years black students seem to have adopted a more careerist, individualistic and privatistic, though not necessarily less "militant" stance (Boyd, 1974; Walters, 1974). Black student unions have become less political and less activist, in some institutions declining nearly to the point of disintegration (Exum, 1974). For many black students the union seems much less salient, its poli-

tical power and effectivenss much reduced. In many respects the black student union seems to have been transformed into an organization more concerned with cultural and social activities than with political activism and efforts to change the university. Where this transformation has not been total, the union seems to serve primarily a political "watchdog" function--the importance of which ought not be underestimated--striving to maintain gains already made. The final section of this paper examines some of the various reasons for the decline of the black student union from the 1967-71 period, perhaps the period of its peak activity, strength and significance.

Factors in the Decline of the Black Student Union[8]

Several factors have been instrumental in the decline of the black student union and its transformation from an activist, politically oriented organization into the essentially cultural, social and recreational organization it seems to have become on many campuses.[9] Here we concentrate on those which are internal to the organization, though it should be stressed that external factors may be just as significant in producing the outcome under discussion. Four such internal factors seem especially important: 1) the character of the black student union as a movement organization; 2) the heterogeneity and internal division within the black student population in any college; 3) internal dynamics and processes within the the union; and 4) "battle fatigue."

First, black student unions are what Zald and Ash (1966) term exclusive social movement organizations. Such organizations have rigid criteria for membership, demand a high level of initial commitment, a high level of continuing involvement, and a high level of ideological

conformity. A significant result of this is that "exclusive organizations are more likely than inclusive organizations to be beset by schisms," largely because inclusive organizations have "looser criteria of affiliation and of doctrinal orthodoxy" and do not demand such constant participation and involvement in organizational activities (Zald and Ash, 1966: 331).

Black student unions clearly have been exclusive organizations of this type; many attempt to remain so at present. The primary membership requirement, being black, was and is inflexible; almost as inflexible has been the expectation that all black students on campus should belong, at least nominally, to the union. A continuing commitment to the organization and its program was expected and required after entry. The pressures for ideological and behavioral conformity which occurred, and may still occur, in black student unions and which have often involved "blacker-than-thou" games (cf. Donald, 1970; Napper, 1973), may be seen as additional indication of the character of the black student union as an exclusive movement organization.

A major problem in such movement organizations as black student unions is that constant pressures for commitment, ideological and behavioral conformity tend, over the long run, to lead to discontent, factionalism, and disaffection, problems which have plagued black student unions around the country. In short, one source of the decline of the black student union has been its character as an exclusive organization.

Second, the tendency to schism inherent in exclusive organizations is likely to be enhanced when the population from which organizational members are drawn is itself highly heterogeneous (Zald and Ash, 1966). Despite the often monolithic appearance of the black student union,

and despite the commonly held stereotype that all black students come from the same kind of background--the black student population in any white college or university is a highly heterogeneous one. The heterogeneity of the black student population may be seen as an additional factor in the decline of the black student union in recent years through the enhanced potential for dissensus inherent in such diversity.

Among the various dimensions of this heterogeneity, certain ones seem particularly important as potential, and actual, sources of dissensus: differences in socioeconomic background, i.e. class differences (cf. Boyd, 1974; Donald, 1970; Walters, 1974; Willie and McCord, 1972); gender (cf. Donald, 1970, 1971);); differences in political beliefs (cf. Edwards, 1970; Trow, 1970); differences in the degree to which individuals' careerist orientations and mobility aspirations take precedence over or supplant political beliefs and a willingness to engage in direct on-campus political activity (cf. Edwards, 1970; Obatala, 1972; Walters, 1974); and on some campuses, ethnic differences (cf. Exum, 1974).

Third, given a heterogeneous membership base and a character as an exclusive organization, constant pressures for consensus and conformity within the black student union have probably been inevitable and universal. However, this "passion for unanimity" (to borrow a term from Schein, 1969) served over the long run to enhance rather than to reduce internal division. For one thing, some members may be lost through a kind of "excommunication" for "heresy" or "apostasy." Others came to resent such pressures, creating both manifest and latent alienation from the union.

Further, since union success in achieving change goals has

rarely been total on any campus, some members may have become disaffected as a result of failure to achieve important group goals. Inaddition, when faced with intramural friction, diverse interests and pressures for conformity simultaneously, many students appear to have resolved the conflict between individual and collective norms in favor of their own individual, often careerist, interests. In this situation where individual and group needs may be highly incongruent, constant pressures for solidarity may in the end create greater dissension, particularly if not accompanied by effective means through which individual interests might be satisfied.[10] A consequence is even more disagreement within the union, especially over goals and tactics.

Fourth and finally, observers of social movements have often noted that a very frequent occurrence in social movements is a kind of "battle fatigue" (Coles, 1964; Turner and Killian, 1972), especially likely when: 1) the discovery is made that much of the relevant reality one sought to change remains fundamentally unchanged even after much effort and important "victories"; and 2) the organization or group which spearheaded activism is suffering internal difficulties of consensus and goal setting.

Such battle fatigue has been an almost universal experience at one time or another for black students. The consequence for students is exhaustion, frustration and often, withdrawal from the "field of battle," accompanied by much bitterness. This fatigue and bitter withdrawal seems to have been a major factor in the decline of the black student union in recent years. It may also help explain recent research findings which show current levels of discontent, alienation and criticism of the white college among black students to be as high now as during the late 1960s, but without the activism which accompanied

such feelings a few years ago (cf. Boyd, 1974; Walters, 1974).

Summary and Conclusion

Black student unions have been a central and nearly universal feature in white colleges and universities during the past ten years. In this paper we have examined some of their important functions, activities and impact on the white college, and factors producing their current state of decline. In suggesting factors leading to this lessened visibility, political activism, and marginal viability, our discussion has focused primarily on black students' traits, the character of the union and certain internal dynamics within it, and the "battle fatigue" experienced by many students. In short, we have stressed internal factors which have influenced the decline of the union.[11]

Finally, we should be cautious about interpreting the current apparent absence of activism and decline of the black student union as the end of the story. Nor should it be taken as an indicator that the ultimate fate of black student unions is either to disappear, or to become "simply" a social organization like other, more traditional student groups. Recent research on nationwide samples of black students in a variety of institutions indicates that black students are still markedly alienated and disaffected from white society and the white college (Boyd, 1974; Walters, 1974). This disaffection may turn to activism, and may serve to revitalize black student unions whenever strongly salient issues arise.[12] Protests by black students at Boston College, Brandeis, Brown, City College of New York, Cornell, Harvard, Hunter College, the University of Michigan and the University of California at Santa Barbara during the spring of 1975; at the Uni-

versity of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, Berkeley, UCLA and the University of California at San Diego during the fall of 1975; and at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst during the spring of 1976--all indicate the potential on any campus for a re-vitalized black student union and black student movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. cf. Barlow and Shapiro (1971); Pinkney (1975); Strout and Grossvogel (1971).

2. The development of black student unions was so rapid that by December, 1966, a northeastern regional conference of black students and black student organizations held at Columbia University was attended by three hundred delegates representing black student unions and students at thirty colleges and universities (Pinkney, 1975).

3. cf. Anthony (1971); Barlow and Shapiro (1971); Donald (1970, 1971); Edwards (1970); Exum (1974); Hedegard and Brown (1969); Matthews and Prothro (1969); Napper (1973); Willie and McCord (1972).

4. Boyd (1974); Donald (1970, 1971); Exum (1974); Hedegard and Brown (1969); Proctor (1970); Walters (1974); Willie and McCord (1972); Wisdom and Shaw (1970).

5. Before the mid-1960s, there were relatively few black students in white colleges and universities. By 1968, 64%, by 1970, 66% and by 1972-73, 75% of all black college students were enrolled in white colleges and universities (Blackwell, 1975; Hechinger, 1971). Recent figures from HEW and the Bureau of the Census indicate that black student enrollment has grown every year since 1965. For example, government and other statistics show that there were 236,000 black men in college in 1969, 422,800 in 1975, and that black college enrollment in the fall of 1974 was 19% higher than in the fall of 1973 (Freeman and Hollomon, 1975; Winkler, 1975).

6. While there is much evidence for continued increases in black enrollment in white institutions, there is also much evidence which indicates that black enrollment peaked in 1972, when blacks were 8.7% of all students, and has fallen since then: to 7.8% of all students in 1973, and 7.4% of all students in 1974-75. Black freshman enrollment dropped from 13% of all freshmen in 1972 to 9% in 1973. Total black enrollment appears to have dropped some 15% between 1972 and 1974, most importantly for black males (American Council on Education, 1973; Harvard Magazine, 1975; A. Henderson and J. Henderson, 1974; V. Henderson, 1974; Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1975). In short, though the evidence is ambiguous, it indicates that increased black admission may not have been fully sustained since the fall-off in black student activism in recent years.

7. Here we are referring to service efforts different and separate from those undertaken by individual students or by student groups acting either on their own or as part of an on-campus student service organization.

8. Since 1971, a dramatic decline in student activism, both white and black, has occurred in American colleges and universities.

In general terms, the decline of student activism may be attributed to several factors: the end of the draft; a new generation on campus with different political socialization; the realization that campus activism in itself has not brought about fundamental change either in the university or the larger society, and is not likely to; a tightening job market in an economy experiencing both inflation and recession simultaneously; and the rising costs of education, making education a more serious commitment, at least in economic terms. Further, if critical mass has been a factor in the development of the black student union, then what appears to be declining black enrollment since 1972 may be seen as an additional element in the decline of union.

9. Decline as used in this discussion refers to: loss of members; loss of solidarity and consensus along with increased factionalism within the organization; reduced, if not the complete absence of, activist efforts on campus; greatly lessened role as arbiter and symbol of black student belief and action; reduced political power on campus, though not necessarily total loss of effectiveness (cf. Obatala, 1972).

10. Donald (1970, 1971); Edwards (1970); Exum (1974); Gamson (1968, 1975); Napper (1973); Turner and Killian (1972); Zald and Ash (1966).

11. However, it may be argued that certain other factors external to black students per se have been equally important in this decline. Briefly, these may be summarized as: 1) conflict between the role of student on the one hand, and the role of member of the black student union on the other; 2) constant turnover of student populations and the problems of continuity, shared experience and socialization it presents; 3) value conflicts between the sociopolitical "black" values stressed by the union, and the more careerist, universalistic and/or individualistic values fosterd by the university; 4) the availability of other groups and activities on campus to which black students may give their time, energy and allegiance; 5) great asymmetry in power and resources between students and university authorities; 6) both the successes and the failures of activism; 7) the ultimately effective social control efforts of university authorities; 8) the fragmentation of the larger civil rights movement along with the decline in political and ideological consensus which has occurred among off-campus blacks during the last ten years; 9) the current economic situation in the larger society creating financial (and other) pressures which reinforce a careerist and vocationalist, rather than political, orientation among black students; and 10) lessened media coverage of black student activities (cf. Bayer and Astin, 1971).

12. Such issues include: perceived drastic reductions in financial aid; greatly declining black enrollment; threats to the existence of black-oriented programs already established, or to promised programs which have yet to be implemented; CIA recruiting efforts aimed at minorities; as well as a variety of other issues, both national and local.

REFERENCES

Ailen, Robert L.
1974 "Politics of the Attack on Black Studies." The Black Scholar, 6 (September): 2-7

American Council on Education.
1973 Fact Book on Higher Education. Loose-leaf Reporting Series. Washiington, D.C.

Anthony, Earl.
1971 The Time of the Furnaces. N.Y.: Dial Press

Barlow, William and Peter Shapiro.
1971 An End to Silence: The San Francisco State College Student Movement in the '60s. N.Y.: Pegauss

Bayer, Alan E. and Alexander W. Astin.
1971 "Campus Unrest, 1970-71: Was It Really All That Quiet?" Educational Record, 52 (Fall): 301-313

Blackwell, James E.
1975 The Black Community. N.Y.: Dodd, Mead

Boyd, William M., II.
1974 Desegregating America's Colleges. N.Y.: Praeger

Coles, Robert.
1964 "Social Struggle and Weariness." Psychiatry, 27: 305-315

Donald, Cleveland, Jr.
1970 "Cornell in Crisis." Essence, 1: 22-27

_____.
1971 "Cornell: Confrontation in Black and White," Pp. 135-184 in C. Strout and D. I. Grossvogel, editors, Divided We Stand. N.Y.: Doubleday

Edwards, Harry.
1970 Black Students. N.Y.: Free Press

Exum, William H.
1974 "Black Student Movements in White Colleges and Universities: A Case Study." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Sociology, New York University

Freeman, Richard and J. Herbert Holloman.
1975 "The Declining Value of College Going." Change, 7 (September): 24-31, 62

Gamson, William A.
1968 Power and Discontent. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press

_____.
1975 The Strategy of Social Protest. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press

Harding, Vincent.
1969 "Black Students and the 'Impossible' Revolution." Ebony, 24 (August): 141-148

Harvard Magazine.
1975 "Fewer Blacks in College." Harvard Magazine, 77 (March): 10

Hechinger, Fred M.
1971 "Black Colleges: Dispute Over a Rescue Attempt." New York Times, October 17

Hedegard, James M. and Donald R. Brown.
1969 "Encounters of Some Negro and White Freshmen With a Public Multiversity." Journal of Social Issues, 25: 131-144

Henderson, Algo D. and Jean G. Henderson.
1974 Higher Education in America. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Henderson, Vivian W.
1974 "Blacks and Change in Higher Education." Daedalus, 103 (Fall): 72-79

Institute for the Study of Educational Policy.
1975 Equal Opportunity for Blacks in United States Higher Education: An Assessment. Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, Howard University. Washington, D.C.

Matthews, Donald and James Prothro.
1969 "Negro Students and the Protest Movement," Pp. 379-418 in J. McEvoy and A. Miller, editors, Black Power and the Student Rebellion. Belmont, Mass.: Wadsworth

Napper, George.
1973 Blacker Than Thou: The Struggle for Campus Unity. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans

Obatala, J. K.
1972 "Black Students: Where Did Their Revolution Go?" The Nation, October 2: 272-274

_____.
1974 "Black Studies Stop the Shouting and Go To Work." Smithsonian, 5 (December): 46-53

Pinkney, Alphonso.
1975 Black Americans, Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall

Proctor, Samuel D.
1970 "Racial Pressures on Urban Institutions," Pp. 43-58 in D. C. Nichols and O. Mills, editors, The Campus and the Racial Crisis. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education

Schein, Edgar H.
1969 "The Passion for Unanimity," Pp. 279-289 in B. McLaughlin, editor, Studies in Social Movements. N.Y.: Free Press

Strout, Cushing and David I. Grossvogel, editors.
1971 Divided We Stand: Reflections on the Crisis at Cornell. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday

Trow, Martin.
1970 "Reflections on the Transition from Mass to Universal Higher Education." Daedalus, 99 (winter): 1-42

Turner, Ralph H. and Lewis Killian.
1972 Collective Behavior, Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall

Walters, Ronald W.
1974 "The Mood of Black Youths." Encore, 3 (September): 15-19

Wilkins, Roger.
1975 "Black Studies: What's Left Is No Small Achievement." The New York Times, March 16: 20

Willie, Charles V. and Arline S. McCord.
1972 Black Students at White Colleges. N.Y.: Praeger

Winkler, Karen J.
1975 "Data on Blacks Called Inflated." The Chronicle of Higher Education, XI (October 6): 1, 9

Wisdom, Paul E. and Kenneth A. Shaw.
1970 "Black Challenge to Higher Education," Pp. 96-109 in D. C. Nichols and O. Mills, editors, The Campus and the Racial Crisis. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education

Yankelovich, Daniel.
1972 The Changing Values on Campus. N.Y.: Washington Square

Zald, Meyer N. and Roberta Ash.
1966 "Social Movement Organizations." Social Forces, 44: 327-340